

COMMUNIST CHINA

ORGANIZATION FOR THE CONDUCT OF  
FOREIGN RELATIONS



December 1960

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ATTACHMENTS:

1. Chart showing Party, Government and other Organs Engaged in Foreign Relations.
2. List of Foreign Affairs Specialists connected with the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.
3. Alphabetical index (with telecodes) of Chinese referred to in this study.

## I. COMMUNIST CHINA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS

In this study particular emphasis is given to the Chinese Communist governmental organization for the conduct of foreign relations and the training of personnel for foreign assignments, with brief background data on Communist China's foreign relations generally, diplomatic relations, position in the international Communist Bloc, and organs of the Communist Party of China which participate in international affairs.

Communist China's foreign policy is determined either by the Political Bureau or the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CCP). One of the departments of the Central Committee is the International Liaison Department (also known as the Foreign Section and covered in greater detail in Part II) which maintains liaison with other Communist parties, and directs Chinese Communist participation in the international Communist front organizations. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) of the Chinese People's Government (CPG) is the governmental executive agency which carries out policy decisions of the Party, conducting formal government-to-government diplomacy with nations having diplomatic relations with Communist China, and fostering the establishment of such relations.

Through its diplomatic and other official installations abroad, the CPG maintains cultural and economic contact with the other Sino-Soviet Bloc nations, and engages in cultural and economic penetration of the free world nations which recognize Communist China. Relations with other countries of the free world are achieved through so-called "people's diplomacy" under which non-official contact is established and carried on through Chinese Communist-controlled non-Party and non-governmental mass and front organizations dealing with persons or organizations in other countries outside of diplomatic channels.

The Foreign Ministry, through its diplomatic installations abroad, affords one avenue through which close contact is maintained with the large numbers of Chinese residing abroad, particularly in the countries of Asia. The Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission (a government organ actually controlled by the United Front Work Department of the CCP) provides another means of maintaining contact with Chinese living overseas.

Diplomatic establishments as well as other official Chinese Communist organs abroad, such as the New China News Agency, trade missions, and Bank of China branches, also provide facilities through which Red China covertly collects intelligence, overtly acquires political, economic and scientific data, carries out subversive missions, and disseminates its propaganda.

Although many decisions on foreign policy may still be made by MAO Tse-tung and the CCP Politburo, CHOU En-lai, as Premier, is the top man in the government in the conduct of foreign affairs, and is also a member of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee. CH'EN I, Minister of Foreign Affairs, is also one of sixteen Vice Premiers, Director of the State Council's Staff Office for Foreign Affairs, and a member of the CCP Political Bureau. Of the 16 Vice Premiers of the CPG, all are members of the Central Committee of the CCP, and 12 of them are also regular or alternate members of the Political Bureau. Three of the four deputy directors of the Staff Office for Foreign Affairs and two of the five Vice Ministers of Foreign Affairs are Central Committee members, and the other three Vice Ministers are CCP members of long standing who previously served as ambassadors. All important persons in the government organs formulating foreign policy and conducting foreign affairs, including those serving as ambassadors abroad, are either known or can be presumed to be members of the Communist Party of China, wearing two hats at the same time, one a Party hat, the other a government hat.

In free, democratic nations foreign policy reflects public sentiment as expressed by freely-elected representatives. In Communist-controlled nations foreign policy is made by a small group of leaders and is based upon the goals and aims of the national Communist Party and the long term objectives of international communism. In Communist nations criticism and discussion of foreign policy appear only when permitted by those in power, and the press and other forms of mass communication are under firm Party control.

Secrecy is the by-word in all stages of the process of policy formation in the Communist nations, whose foreign policy is not influenced by public reaction or opinion. Their foreign policy moves can seldom be determined until they are implemented and then are often incomprehensible when judged by Western standards.

One of the factors in the formation of foreign policy in Communist countries about which the least is known is how overt and covert

intelligence is collated and utilized as a guide in decision making. Little is known as to which organs of the Party or government sort out the mass of information obtained from abroad and then collate and analyze it for use by those who establish foreign policy. Party leaders who determine foreign policy undoubtedly have access to far more (and certainly more accurate) information than the distorted propaganda which appears in Chinese Communist publications and broadcasts.

Few of the leaders of the Communist Party of China have any experience in the non-Communist world, and the question arises as to whether most of those at the top level of policy making are capable of accurately evaluating information pertaining to areas outside the Communist orbit. There is also the question of whether those gathering and reporting overt and covert information concerning the non-Communist world, as well as those performing the evaluation and analysis functions in Peking, are able frankly and factually to report information which might be contradictory to the official Communist propaganda line. It is also important to know whether these reporters and analysts believe the Communist propaganda line and are impregnated with Communist doctrine to such a degree that their reports and analyses are colored or shaped thereby.

Chinese Communist foreign policy reflects adherence to and interpretation of the gospel of Marx-Lenin, shaped to serve Communist China's national interest, chauvinistic attitude, a firm belief in Chinese racial superiority, and the conviction that it is China's destiny to become the dominant country in the world. Underlying the Chinese Communist posture in foreign relations are its vast and rapidly increasing manpower,\* an unrelenting control over the Chinese mainland, enormous

* _____		% of Total	1975 Estimate
	<u>1960</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>(at same ratios)</u>
Total Population	Over 650,000,000		1,000,000,000
CCP Membership	16,000,000	2.46%	24,600,000
Military Forces (Estimated)			
Regulars	3,000,000	.046%	4,600,000
Reserves	17,000,000	2.6%	26,000,000
Militia (according to the Communist press in September 1958)	220,000,000	34%	340,000,000

natural wealth which is largely undeveloped, appreciable technological advances made in the eleven years since 1949, the apparent willingness of its leaders to achieve international objectives through the use of force of arms, and their almost psychopathic hatred of the nations of the West, most particularly the United States.

#### A. DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

The Chinese People's Government (Communist)(CPG) was formally established on 1 October 1949. First to establish diplomatic relations with the CPG was the USSR, on 3 October 1949. The other Sino-Soviet Bloc nations, except for North Vietnam, recognized the CPG between that date and the end of 1949 in the following chronological sequence: Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, North Korea, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Mongolian People's Republic, East Germany, and Albania. North Vietnam formalized diplomatic relations on 18 January 1950. Yugoslavia extended recognition on 5 October 1949, but there was no exchange of ambassadors until January 1955. Bloc relations with Yugoslavia became strained in 1958, and both the Chinese Communists and the Yugoslavs withdrew their ambassadors in the summer of that year. The two installations are now under *chargés d'affaires*, but relations have not been severed.

By May 1951 the following thirteen non-Bloc nations had established diplomatic relations with Communist China: United Kingdom, Ceylon, Norway, Afghanistan, the Netherlands, India, Sweden, Denmark, Burma, Indonesia, Switzerland, Finland, and Pakistan. No other nation recognized the CPG until Nepal did so in August 1955. Since then, the following have extended recognition: Egypt (May 1956), Syria (now part of the United Arab Republic - July 1956), Yemen (September 1956), Cambodia (July 1958), Iraq (July 1958), Morocco (October 1958), Sudan (December 1958), Guinea (October 1959), Ghana (July 1960), and Cuba (September 1960).

Of the ninety-six members of the United Nations (other than Nationalist China and the Byelorussian and Ukrainian SSR's) thirty, as of 10 October 1960, recognize the Chinese Communist government. Of the eight countries not members of the United Nations, five -- Switzerland, East Germany, North Korea, North Vietnam and the Mongolian People's Republic -- recognize the Chinese Communist regime, three recognize Nationalist China, and West Germany recognizes neither.

Communist China is not a member of the United Nations or of any of the specialized UN agencies (such as UNESCO and ILO), even though such affiliation is not contingent upon UN membership.

On 15 November 1949 CPG Foreign Minister CHOU En-lai asked the United Nations to repudiate the representation of China by the Chinese Nationalist Government (GRC). On 19 October 1950 the United Nations General Assembly, by a vote of 33 to 16, with 10 abstentions, refused to seat the Chinese Communist Government in place of the GRC. For the tenth time, in October 1960, the General Assembly of the UN, by a margin of 42 to 34, with 22 abstentions, voted a moratorium on consideration of a Soviet-sponsored resolution calling for debate on admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

As of 30 September 1960 Communist China had embassies in 31 countries. There are two legations under charges (United Kingdom and the Netherlands). The senior official in the Yugoslav embassy since late 1958 has been a chargé d'affaires. The ambassador to the UAR is also Minister to Yemen. Arrangements were being made in October 1960 for the opening of an embassy in Havana. Communist China has consular agreements with seven free nations and with nearly all of the Sino-Soviet Bloc nations.

Of the present 30 CPG ambassadors, two (LIU Hsiao, USSR, and LI Ching-ch'üan, Switzerland) are full members of the CCP Central Committee, and one (P'AN Tzu-li, India) is an alternate member. WU Hsiu-ch'üan, who was ambassador to Yugoslavia until recalled in 1958, is also a full member of the Central Committee.

#### B. INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY RELATIONS

In the spring of 1920 the Communist International (Comintern) sent a mission from the Far Eastern Secretariat of its Executive Committee in Moscow to establish contact with CH'EN Tu-hsiu, a professor at the National University of Peking, who, with a small group, had founded the Society for the Study of Marxism as the predecessor nucleus of the Communist Party of China. The Comintern mission included Grigori Voitinsky, one of the Russian Far East specialists of the Comintern, and YANG Ming-chai, a Chinese who had resided in the USSR. Under Voitinsky's guidance the CH'EN group was assisted in organizing a political party along Marxist-Leninist lines. In the spring of 1921 the

CH'EN group met in Shanghai and created the League of Communist Youth to recruit and train new members, the Comintern having sent a Dutch Communist, G. Maring, as instructor for the new party. In July 1921 some 12 or 13 leaders of the Communist groups which had been formed in various localities met in Shanghai and founded the Communist Party of China, with a representative of the Comintern among those present.

From the Third Comintern Congress in Moscow in 1921 until the Comintern was replaced by the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), the Communist Party of China was represented at all Comintern meetings and congresses and had Chinese members on the Comintern Secretariat, Comintern representatives attended all important Communist Party of China conferences and congresses, and the Party line was set through Comintern representatives directly assigned to the CCP. In fact, the Sixth CCP Congress was held in Moscow in June-July 1928 under Comintern auspices, N.Y. Bukharin being the official Comintern representative at this congress.

In 1943 the Comintern was "dissolved". In 1947 the European-oriented Cominform was established. The Communist Party of China is not known to have participated in the Cominform or to have had representatives on its staff. CCP propaganda, however, supported the Cominform decisions and line, such as that which followed the attack on Yugoslav "revisionism". After the "dissolution" of the Cominform in April 1956 the international Communist movement established in August 1958 a publication called Problems of Peace and Socialism. Headquartered in Prague with A. Rumyantsev as chief editor, it employs representatives of many Communist parties, including the CCP, on its staff. It is printed in many other countries and languages, including Chinese, as a means of expounding and widely distributing the ideology of international Communism, thereby performing one of the functions of the former Comintern and Cominform. Today the International Liaison (Foreign) Departments of both the Sino-Soviet Bloc parties and many of the non-Bloc parties have been made responsible for some inter-party relationships.

To party congresses in any Sino-Soviet Bloc nation and to all important national celebrations the parties from all other nations in the Bloc customarily send delegations. In addition, the Communist parties (legal and illegal) of most non-Bloc nations send representatives. For example, Communist Party delegations or representatives from

the eleven other members of the Sino-Soviet Bloc and more than sixty other countries or areas attended the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic in Peking in October 1959.

WU Hsiu-ch'uan was among the Party leaders from the Sino-Soviet Bloc attending the ninth national assembly of the Cuban Communist Party (PSP) in Havana in August 1960.

In addition, the Communist parties of all nations are sponsors and participants in all the international Communist front organizations and conferences, Communist China being a major participant in virtually all of them and having representation on their executive councils and secretariats. Communist China is one of the most active participants in all international Communist propaganda campaigns, such as the Stockholm Peace Appeal.

Though not a member of the Warsaw Pact, which includes the USSR and the East European satellites, Communist China sends observers to most pact meetings, including an assemblage in February 1960 in Moscow. Nor is Communist China a full member of the Soviet Bloc Council for Mutual Economic Aid (CEMA), although Chinese Communist representatives have attended at least some of the CEMA meetings and those of some subsidiary CEMA committees. Communist China has entered into formal government-to-government agreements with most (if not all) of the Sino-Soviet Bloc nations (including North Korea and North Vietnam) with regard to trade, customs matters, convertibility of national currencies within the Bloc, scientific/technical and cultural exchanges, and other matters. In addition to guiding the over-all people-to-people diplomacy outside normal foreign ministry channels, the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries directs the affairs of the friendship associations in Communist China (such as the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association) and the relations with China Friendship Associations, which are found in all the Sino-Soviet Bloc nations.

## II. ORGANS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

Foreign policy decisions concerning Communist China may originate in the CCP Central Committee but more frequently are made by the Political Bureau of that Committee, and specifically by the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. Execution of such policy decisions is directed and administered by foreign affairs specialists on the CCP Secretariat, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the government level and through the International Liaison Department (also known as the Foreign Section) of the Central Committee whenever these decisions concern relationships with other Communist parties or international communist front organizations and activities.

Some other CCP organs are also concerned with certain aspects of the conduct of Chinese Communist foreign affairs, but their roles are discussed only briefly in this study.

### A. ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT

The Organization Department of the Central Committee is responsible for party membership and party committees. Party committees are found at all levels throughout the party organization and the governmental structure. The CCP Committee within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for example, administers affairs of party members associated with the Ministry, insures observance of party discipline, and conducts indoctrination programs. It insures the establishment of committees at all levels of the Ministry organization at Peking headquarters and in embassies and consulates which supervise all party activities and members at those levels. Party committees are also to be found in all official installations abroad, such as NCNA offices and branches of the Bank of China.

### B. PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT

The Propaganda Department of the Central Committee directs the total domestic propaganda program, internal and external, through the party organization, the government organs, the military, and through "unofficial" organizations. Party members responsible for propaganda

activities are found down to the party cell level and in all party committees. The Propaganda Department and the International Liaison (Foreign) Department jointly participate in directing Communist China's foreign propaganda program. They work:

1. With other Communist parties and international Communist fronts through inter-party channels;
2. Through cultural attaches at diplomatic installations;
3. Through the network of the New China News Agency and the Communist-controlled Chinese language press abroad, particularly in Asia;
4. Through the Broadcasting Administration Bureau of the State Council and its international broadcasts via Radio Peking;
5. Through the government Ministry of Culture and exchanges of cultural delegations with other countries;
6. Through the governmental Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the "unofficial" Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

Publication and foreign dissemination of propaganda material and text books for Chinese schools in areas where large numbers of Chinese reside overseas, as well as production and distribution of propaganda films, come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture, which is in turn controlled by the CCP Propaganda Department. As in all Communist-controlled countries, the CCP Propaganda program is closely coordinated with Communist China's foreign policy and is considered an instrument for implementing the conduct of foreign affairs.

#### C. UNITED FRONT WORK DEPARTMENT (UFW)

Another Central Committee organ engaged in an aspect of foreign affairs is the United Front Work Department. Although the major responsibilities of this department are concerned with organization and control of the non-Communist Party majority on the China mainland (there are only approximately 13,900,000 CCP members out of

the 650,000,000 total population, or about 1 in every 47), it bears the responsibility of winning the loyalty (or at least the sympathy) of the 14,000,000 Chinese (called hua ch'iao) residing outside China, largely in Southeast Asia. Working directly through its agents among these large communities of Chinese residing overseas and through the governmental Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, the UFWD spreads propaganda and seeks to gain control of Chinese organizations, the press, and Chinese schools serving this large number of hua ch'iao. One of the vice chairmen of the United Front Work Department, LIAO Ch'eng-chih, is also chairman of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission. In addition to its organizational work among the Chinese communities overseas, the UFWD organizes the control of Chinese returning to the mainland either as permanent residents or as visitors, operates reception centers and hostels in various cities, and directs the integration of repatriates into the social, economic, and political life of Communist China.

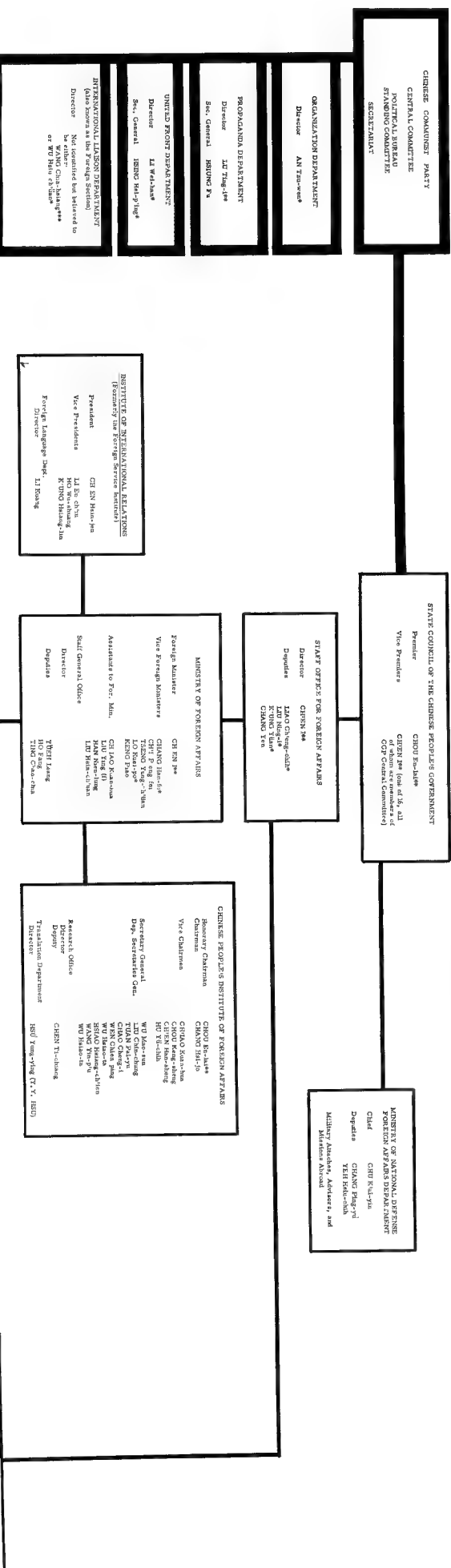
#### D. INTELLIGENCE ORGANS

Foreign intelligence activities are carried on clandestinely through agents placed under official cover in diplomatic and other official Chinese Communist installations abroad, through illegal agents residing in some areas, and through persons traveling or legally residing abroad. Intelligence organizations under the CCP Central Committee, the government security organs, and the military operate abroad.

#### E. INTERNATIONAL LIAISON (FOREIGN) DEPARTMENT (ILD)

The International Liaison (Foreign) Department under the Central Committee of the CCP is similar to departments found in all the Sino-Soviet Bloc parties and in some of the larger and more important Communist Parties in non-Communist nations. In the CPSU central apparatus there are two foreign liaison departments under the Central Committee. One, the International Department, deals essentially with Free World matters. The other is called the Department for Liaison with Communist and Workers Parties of the Socialist Countries. Although both are departments, the latter seems to be secondary. Both, however, implement policy set by higher Party authority.

In Communist nations these departments coordinate, implement and support on the working level those aspects of foreign policy with



Indicates person named in regular or alternate member of GCP Central Committee.  
Indicates person named in member of Political Bureau and Central Committee.  
Indicates person named in member of Secretariat and Central Committee.

LEGEND

GEOPOLITICAL AREA OFFICES

AMERICAN AND AUSTRALIAN AFFAIRS OFFICE

Director  
SHEN Chien  
Deputies  
LIN Ping-pa  
LIN Ping

ASIAN AFFAIRS OFFICE No. 1

Director  
CHIANG Wan-shan  
Deputies  
CHAO Ching-1  
HU Chang-sheng

ASIAN AFFAIRS OFFICE No. 2

Asst. to Director  
NI Yung-p'oh  
Director  
CHENG Shou-liang  
Deputies  
LI Chien  
LI Chang-shan

USSR AND EAST EUROPEAN (SOCIALIST STATES) AFFAIRS OFFICE

Acting Director  
LI Hsi-chuan  
Deputies  
YU Chien  
CHENG Shou-liang  
HSIU Ming

WEST ASIAN AND AFRICAN AFFAIRS OFFICE

Director  
HO Yung  
Deputy  
HO Kung-wai

WEST EUROPEAN AFFAIRS OFFICE

Director  
WANG Chuan-shan  
Deputy  
SHENG Chuan-sheng  
Asst. to Director  
WANG Chin

Political Affairs of Communist Government (excluding Chinese Communist China.)  
United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Central America, Caribbean, South America.

Central America, Central America, Caribbean, South America, United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Central America, Caribbean, South America.

Central America, Central America, Caribbean, South America, United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Central America, Caribbean, South America.

Central America, Central America, Caribbean, South America, United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Central America, Caribbean, South America.

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Central America, Central America, Caribbean, South America, United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Central America, Caribbean, South America.

GENERAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

Director  
CHENG Li-shan  
Deputies

GENERAL SERVICES DEPARTMENT

Director  
YANG Chiu-sheng  
Deputy  
KHO Yung

INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

Director  
KING Ping (P)  
Deputies  
SHAO Tsung-shan  
KANG Mao-shao

RESEARCH SECTION

Director  
PIE Shun  
Deputy  
PIE Shun

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

Director  
KING Ping-sheng (P)  
Deputies

PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT

Director  
LAI Yung (P)  
Deputies  
SHAO Tsung-shan  
KANG Mao-shao

PROTOCOL DEPARTMENT

Director  
LAI Yung (P)  
Deputies  
SHAO Tsung-shan  
KANG Mao-shao

THEATRE AND LAW DEPARTMENT

Director  
YANG Chiu-sheng  
Deputy  
KHO Yung

THEATRE AND LAW DEPARTMENT

Director  
YANG Chiu-sheng  
Deputy  
KHO Yung

THEATRE AND LAW DEPARTMENT

Director  
YANG Chiu-sheng  
Deputy  
KHO Yung

ASSOCIATION FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH FORMER COUNTRIES

Chairman  
CHU Tzu-shan  
Vice Chairman  
TUNG Hsi-shan  
Secretary General  
WU Hsi-shan  
Tung Hsi-shan  
CHANG Chiu-sheng  
Hsia Yeh  
Kuo Yeh

Chairman  
CHU Tzu-shan  
Vice Chairman  
TUNG Hsi-shan  
Secretary General  
WU Hsi-shan  
Tung Hsi-shan  
CHANG Chiu-sheng  
Hsia Yeh  
Kuo Yeh

Chairman  
CHU Tzu-shan  
Vice Chairman  
TUNG Hsi-shan  
Secretary General  
WU Hsi-shan  
Tung Hsi-shan  
CHANG Chiu-sheng  
Hsia Yeh  
Kuo Yeh

Chairman  
CHU Tzu-shan  
Vice Chairman  
TUNG Hsi-shan  
Secretary General  
WU Hsi-shan  
Tung Hsi-shan  
CHANG Chiu-sheng  
Hsia Yeh  
Kuo Yeh

Chairman  
CHU Tzu-shan  
Vice Chairman  
TUNG Hsi-shan  
Secretary General  
WU Hsi-shan  
Tung Hsi-shan  
CHANG Chiu-sheng  
Hsia Yeh  
Kuo Yeh

Chairman  
CHU Tzu-shan  
Vice Chairman  
TUNG Hsi-shan  
Secretary General  
WU Hsi-shan  
Tung Hsi-shan  
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Hsia Yeh  
Kuo Yeh

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CHU Tzu-shan  
Vice Chairman  
TUNG Hsi-shan  
Secretary General  
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Tung Hsi-shan  
CHANG Chiu-sheng  
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Chairman  
CHU Tzu-shan  
Vice Chairman  
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Secretary General  
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Chairman  
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WU Hsi-shan  
Tung Hsi-shan  
CHANG Chiu-sheng  
Hsia Yeh  
Kuo Yeh

Chairman  
CHU Tzu-shan  
Vice Chairman  
TUNG Hsi-shan  
Secretary General  
WU Hsi-shan  
Tung Hsi-shan  
CHANG Chiu-sheng  
Hsia Yeh  
Kuo Yeh

Chairman  
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CHANG Chiu-sheng  
Hsia Yeh  
Kuo Yeh

which the party is concerned. They also carry out routine relations with other Communist parties and their representatives and may have some administrative responsibility for party units and members residing or traveling outside the parent country, as well as for coordinating all-party propaganda efforts and exchanging party printed materials with other Communist parties.

These International Liaison Departments are generally limited to administrative and liaison functions and implementation of foreign policy as made by the Central Committees or Political Bureaus. The functions of these departments differ from party to party. For example, in one non-Bloc nation with a large Communist party, the Foreign Section of the local party was in contact with Soviet and satellite embassies and legations, as well as with the Sino-Soviet national friendship societies. Liaison with the Communist Party of China was maintained through frequent contact with the Chinese Communist embassy in a neighboring country. In one country the Foreign Section handled commercial and foreign trade matters with other Communist parties and local party front organizations. Although a limited amount of routine CPSU policy and instructions flow to other parties through diplomatic channels, important matters are handled by direct CPSU contacts with high party officials, the Foreign Sections affording a useful channel for communication and coordination of routine activities.

Little is known of the organizational structure or functional activities of personnel of the ILD of the Communist Party of China. Nor have personnel of this Party organ been identified except indirectly, through the activities in which they regularly engage and through what is known of their other past and present official activities and duties. It seems obvious that certain key party figures are either assigned to the department or can be called upon as needed to serve the Party interests carried out by this Central Committee organ. These persons can be divided generally into two groups: one concerned with other Communist Parties specifically by area, the other with functional matters within the scope of the International Liaison Department.

Chinese Communist sources appear to have avoided carefully any reference to the ILD or to those holding key posts in this department. In March 1959 a Polish news agency stated WU Hsiu-ch'uan was "head of the Foreign Section of the Central Committee". Other sources have asserted that WANG Chia-hsiang heads this department on the basis of his frequent participation in affairs which clearly fall within its scope and functions.

WANG Chia-hsiang is a member of the CCP Central Committee and a ranking member of the CCP Secretariat, at one time headed the General Political Department of the Chinese Communist Army, went to the USSR for study in 1925, was particularly active in affairs of the Comintern in the 1930's, was ambassador to the USSR from October 1949 to March 1951, and served as Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1951 until September 1959. Since 1949 WANG has attended many congresses of other Communist parties, both of the Sino-Soviet Bloc and non-Bloc nations.

WU Hsiu-ch'uan has held diplomatic and foreign service assignments since 1949 and was Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1951 to 1955, when he was named ambassador to Yugoslavia. He served in the latter post until recalled in the fall of 1958 and thereafter was named an assistant to the foreign minister. He is considered an expert on the USSR and East European affairs, having been one of three ambassadors who are also full members of the CCP Central Committee since 1956. WU headed the USSR and East European Affairs Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1949 to 1951. He was educated in the Soviet Union (1926 to 1931) and from 1931 to 1949 was a political commissar and staff officer in the Chinese Communist armed forces. In 1950 he appeared as Communist China's special delegate to a meeting of the United Nations Security Council at Lake Success to present charges of "American aggression in Taiwan". It would appear that his ILD responsibilities concern principally matters involving the East European satellites.

There are a number of other functional and area experts attached to and utilized by the ILD. Functional activities include management of the compounds and hostels maintained in Peking by the CCP for housing visiting members of other Communist parties and administering party training schools and classes for students sent to Communist China by Communist parties in non-bloc areas, such as Latin America and Africa. ILD area specialists probably administer relations with Communist parties of specific countries or groups of countries.

Offices of the ILD are reported to be maintained both in CCP headquarters and in the Staff Office for Foreign Affairs of the government in Peking.

Details are lacking concerning the exact role of the ILD in the selection and direction of Communist Party of China representatives

who serve on the executive councils and on the permanent secretariats of the various international communist front organizations. Each of the mass organizations in Communist China (such as the All China Federation of Trade Unions, All China Federation of Democratic Youth, All China Federation of Women, and All China Federation of Students) has an international liaison department which probably has some direct relationship with the I.L.D. Personnel of these departments are almost invariably CCP members and are active in their respective international communist front organizations (World Federation of Trade Unions, World Federation of Democratic Youth, Women's International Democratic Federation, and International Union of Students). It may also be presumed that the Party loyalty of all personnel assigned to the permanent secretariats of these international bodies, down to interpreters and translators, has been carefully established before their assignment.

Thus the CCP and certain departments of its Central Committee play a considerable role in the conduct of foreign affairs among the Sino-Soviet bloc nations on a party-to-party basis, through their participation in international Communist front organizations and propaganda campaigns, in the contest for the loyalty of the overseas Chinese, and in the collection of intelligence.

### III. ORGANS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

The constitution of the Chinese People's Government makes provision for a National People's Congress, made up of more than 1200 delegates, elected every four years by lower-level congresses, and meeting annually in Peking. This Congress elects a Standing Committee, consisting currently of a chairman, 16 vice chairmen, a secretary general, and a number of secretaries general. The Standing Committee meets more frequently and is empowered to act on behalf of the Congress between sessions. Under the Standing Committee is the State Council (in effect a cabinet), headed by the Premier and including 16 vice premiers, all members of the CCP Central Committee (12 of whom are also Politburo members). Other members of the State Council comprise the heads of government ministries and commissions, totaling 55 members.

Under the State Council there are now six Staff Offices (eight until the reorganization in September 1959), one each for Foreign Affairs, Political and Legal Affairs, Finance and Trade, Culture and Education, Industry and Communications, and Agriculture and Forestry, all headed by CCP Central Committee members. Each of the Staff Offices has cognizance over a functional group among the 30 Ministries, 8 Commissions, and 13 Special Agencies, most of which perform basically domestic functions. In this study the focus is upon organs concerned with foreign affairs, principally the Staff Office for Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and the activities of other organs which implement the conduct of foreign affairs.

All government officials entrusted with the formulation and direction of foreign policy are concurrently members of the CCP Central Committee, some also being members of the Politburo, which body determines foreign policy. It can be said with reasonable certainty that all personnel of importance in the Foreign Ministry, all diplomats, and all foreign service personnel in positions of any importance are either CCP members or members of the China Young Communist League, junior auxiliary of the CCP.

A. STAFF OFFICE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

This Staff Office was established in March 1958, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs up to that time having been directly under the State Council and not under any of the other seven staff offices. In February 1958 CH'EN I was named Foreign Minister, replacing CHOU En-lai, who from 1949 until that time had held the post concurrently with that of Premier. CH'EN I was also named as director of the Staff Office for Foreign Affairs, and three of his four deputies in the Staff Office are members of the CCP Central Committee. These three deputies are LIAO Ch'eng-chih, who has extensive party experience in propaganda and organizational work, belongs to a multiplicity of national and international front organizations, and has been a leader in Communist youth work; LIU Ning-i, who is chairman of the massive All China Federation of Trade Unions and a participant in many national and international fronts; and K'UNG Yüan, who is a former Vice Minister of Foreign Trade and has been active in negotiating trade agreements with many other nations.

Little is known of the organization under the Staff Office for Foreign Affairs. It is clear that there are divisions under this staff office. HSIUNG Hsiang-hui, head of one of the divisions, was present at the time CHEN I, in the capacity of Deputy Premier, visited Kabul and signed a treaty of friendship and mutual non-aggression between Communist China and Afghanistan in August 1960. HSIUNG was formerly a member of the board of directors of the Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. WANG Hsiao-yun has been referred to as the head of another unidentified department of this staff office.

B. MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MFA)

Offices of the Ministry were reportedly located on Tung Chiao Min Hsiang in Peking, two blocks south of the famous Gate of Heavenly Peace. The Ministry headquarters also has been reported to be at Wai Chiao Pu Chieh (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Street), Peking. The Foreign Ministry and State Council use the Hsin Hua Ting, a small pagoda-like building inside the Forbidden City, as a location for meetings with important foreign visitors.

In addition to Foreign Minister CH'EN I, there are five vice ministers (there were six up to September 1959, when two were

dismissed; one was appointed in January 1960). There are three identified Assistants to the Foreign Minister.

In June 1958 a reference was made to a General Services Department under the Foreign Ministry, although there has been no definitive information to indicate what functions it performs. Reference was also made in June 1958 to a General Office of the Foreign Ministry, but no definition of its functions was made. It is considered likely that between them the following known activities are divided:

1. Maintenance of the world-wide courier system and the handling of diplomatic pouches.
2. Operation of a system of inspection of diplomatic installations abroad.
3. Direction of the Cipher Service (Chi Yao Chu 2894/6008/3710), a special department which consists of a corps of career communications specialists assigned to the Ministry in Peking and to installations abroad.
4. Responsibility for regulations concerning physical and personal security at headquarters and abroad, classification of documents, and the safeguarding of classified records and documents.

No separate finance, archives, or communications offices are identified; and these functions may fall under the purview either of the General Office or the General Services Department. No training office has been identified, but the function is probably carried out by the Institute of International Relations (see Part IV), which is directly related to the Ministry.

Under the Ministry's organization there are six geographical area offices, which may be further subdivided into country desks. There are, in addition, six identified functional departments.

#### 1. GEOGRAPHICAL AREA OFFICES

The six geographical area offices are the First Asian Affairs Office (non-Communist States), the Second Asian Affairs Office (Communist States), the West Asian and African Affairs Office, the West European Affairs Office, the American and Australian Affairs Office,

and the Soviet and East European Affairs Office. Probable areas of responsibility are shown in Attachment 1. However, responsibility for Greece and Turkey has apparently been placed arbitrarily in the West European Affairs Office, although both fall under the West Asian and African Affairs Office. The Soviet and East European office was referred to as the Socialist States Affairs Office between February 1958 and September 1959, when the present title came into more common usage. It has never been made clear whether the change in title was accompanied by incorporation of the Communist nations of Asia (North Korea, North Vietnam, and the Mongolian People's Republic) into its jurisdiction, but it is believed that these three countries are handled under the Second Asian Affairs Office. Recent reference to it as the Soviet and East European Affairs Office would seem to exclude the three Asian Communist nations from this office's area of responsibility.

Although little is known of the further detailed breakdown of the geographical area offices into desks for specific countries or groups of countries, it seems certain that this further subdivision exists. Specialists, for example, within the Asian Affairs Office No. 1 are concerned with matters relating to (and deal with individuals representing) nations falling within the cognizance of this office, such as Japan, India, and Indonesia. Within the American and Australian Affairs Office are to be found individuals considered specialists on the United States, others considered experts on Latin America, and another group specializing on Australia/New Zealand.

A distinction must be made between the CCP International Liaison (Foreign) Department and the Soviet and East European Affairs Office of the Foreign Ministry. The CCP department is concerned with relations and liaison with other Communist parties, whereas the area office of the Ministry deals with government-to-government affairs vis-a-vis the Sino-Soviet Bloc.

## 2. FUNCTIONAL DEPARTMENTS

Identified functional departments are Personnel, Protocol, Consular Affairs, Treaties and Law, International Affairs, General Services, and Information (or Intelligence). Matters concerning personnel administration, records, assignments, and party records are probably handled by the Personnel Department.

The Protocol Department handles matters generally within the scope of such departments in other governments. It deals with foreign

diplomats and officials stationed in Communist China or visiting there and advises (often sending advisory personnel with) Chinese Communist delegations visiting other nations and attending international conferences. Its officials accompany groups of diplomatic personnel stationed in Peking on periodic guided tours of various areas on the mainland. This department was reported to have a staff in excess of 700 persons, including translators and interpreters. Personnel engaged in public relations and reception, including those from the Protocol Department, were called by the State Council to a conference in March 1958 and told that they were to "perfect themselves in the general line and foreign policies of the Party and state". They were reminded that proper reception of foreign visitors to Communist China is a "solemn political task".

The Protocol Department is also reported to be charged with preparing original drafts of congratulatory messages sent by Chinese Communist leaders to various foreign countries and their officials on occasions of anniversaries, important meetings, national celebrations, etc. Such messages are probably subject to approval by the Foreign Minister and the official in whose name they are sent.

The Consular Affairs Department is concerned with visa matters and consular affairs in general, in addition to carrying out the terms of consular agreements which have been signed with most (if not all) of the Sino-Soviet Bloc nations as well as with a few non-Communist nations with which diplomatic relations are maintained, such as Indonesia, Burma, and Switzerland.

The Treaties and Law Department is concerned with consideration, formulation and negotiation of treaties, protocols, and formal governmental agreements between Communist China and other nations and with matters involving international law.

The functions of the International Affairs Department are not fully known, but they appear to include matters involving strictly governmental aspects of Communist China's participation in international conferences (Communist and non-Communist) and international Communist front organizations, as well as assignment of personnel to the permanent staffs of these front organizations. In performing its functions, this department certainly works in close coordination with the CCP International Liaison Department.

The exact functions of the Information Department (formerly referred to as the Intelligence Office) are not known, but from data

available it appears that one of its duties parallels that of the Press Section of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Information Department has a Press Bureau which issues Ministry of Foreign Affairs press announcements, deals with foreign press representatives, both resident and visiting in Communist China, and supervises the admission of foreign correspondents to the mainland. All arrangements for foreign correspondents seeking an audience with government officials are handled through the Press Bureau. A Research Section has also been identified under this department. The Section may monitor foreign press reaction to Chinese Communist foreign policy and is probably the receiving and collation point in the Ministry for such overtly acquired information. In most of the large Chinese Communist diplomatic installations abroad are Investigation and Research Sections known to collect overt information and to prepare periodic summaries of political, economic, and social conditions in the host and adjoining countries, as well as analyses of foreign attitudes and reactions toward Communist China and its international policies and activities.

If the Information Department plays any part in the collection or collation of covertly acquired intelligence, or the assignment of intelligence personnel to posts in diplomatic installations, such a role is not evident from evidence now available. The Information Department may also act on behalf of the Foreign Ministry in reviewing and approving program material bearing on foreign policy before it is broadcast on the foreign network of the Broadcasting Administration Bureau.

### 3. CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (CPIFA) (Chung Kuo Jen Min Wai Chiao Hsueh Hui)

The CPIFA is not identified as, and is not believed to be, a formal part of the organization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; but its activities are obviously under the control and supervision of the Ministry. It may have functions similar to those found in the foreign ministries of other Sino-Soviet Bloc nations. In Poland, for example, the Institute of International Affairs has basically the same mission. The CPIFA (see Attachment 2) is said by the Chinese Communists to be an "unofficial" body, established in December 1949. Its stated functions are acquiring reference materials, conducting research, writing reports, and making "systematic analyses" of international problems. Under the CPIFA there is a working staff which probably

collects and collates information from current newspapers, clippings, editorials, and other printed matter, the files of international press services coming into Peking, and the product of the monitoring by the Broadcasting Administration Bureau of the radio broadcasts originating in the important non-Communist nations.

It is possible that the CPIFA, in close cooperation with the Research Section under the Information Department of the Ministry, prepares the daily reviews and analyses of this material, which are published and distributed daily to top Party and government officials. Trained observers who have visited Communist China have commented upon the broad and detailed knowledge displayed by Chinese Communist leaders regarding day-to-day occurrences in the outside world. Apparently this knowledge is based upon news digests dealing with current affairs which are derived from the monitoring of all important radio and news sources and the scrutiny of the Free World's daily press and periodicals. Other reports have stated that these daily digests of foreign news are classified and are given limited circulation among the top party and government hierarchy and among senior research scientists of the Academy of Sciences in Peking.

Another important function performed by the CPIFA is its part in the conduct of so-called "people's diplomacy" by Communist China. Invitations to visit Communist China are extended to Communist Party officials of Sino-Soviet Bloc nations and Communist Party leaders in non-bloc countries by the Communist Party of China. Invitations to heads of Sino-Soviet Bloc governments and chiefs of state or foreign ministers of countries with which Communist China maintains diplomatic relations are extended through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Chinese People's Government. However, invitations of this nature to heads of all other states, to officials of political parties not in power in states recognized by Communist China, and to governmental, legislative, and other officials of nations with which no diplomatic relations exist are most often handled by the CPIFA. A Chinese Communist publication in 1957 described this function as follows: "It (the CPIFA) extends invitations to foreign political leaders to visit this country and, through personal contacts, helps to promote international understanding and friendship."

HSU Yung-ying has been mentioned as head of a Compilation and Translation Department of the CPIFA. HSU, previously referred to as Director of the American and Australian Affairs Office of the CPIFA, was formerly a research associate with the international secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations. HUANG Hua, former Director of

the West European Affairs Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who was mentioned as chief of the CPIFA Research Office and head of the Research Office of the Information Department of the Foreign Ministry, was named Ambassador to Ghana in August 1960. Although Premier CHOU En-lai is Honorary Chairman of the CPIFA and CHANG Hsi-jo, leader in many Chinese Communist front organizations, has been reported to be Chairman of the CPIFA, a single report stated that the institute is actually directed by CH'IAO Kuan-hua, one of the vice presidents of the CPIFA and an assistant to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The CPIFA may also engage in long range research and analysis of international problems of concern to Communist China.

Although all the top officials of the CPIFA are members of or close collaborators with the CCP, many of the staff members do not appear to be Party members, and a large number of the latter group at one time resided abroad. Whether there are area and functional sub-sections under the CPIFA is uncertain, but it is evident that there are foreign area and language specialists at the CPIFA working level.

References have been made by visitors to China to a "People's Diplomatic Research Council", a "Foreign Relations Institute", a "China People's Foreign Relations Study Society", a "Foreign Affairs Association", and to a "Chinese People's Diplomatic Society". The functions assertedly performed by all of these and the personnel said to be representing them suggest that these names are simply varying mistranslations referring to the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.

According to its constitution, the CPIFA can "make suggestions" to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It has been especially active in developing contacts with government officials, particularly legislators, of non-Communist countries in campaigns seeking diplomatic recognition of the CPG, and has sought to build closer ties where recognition has already been extended. Since 1954 it has played host to lawmakers from dozens of free nations.

That the CPIFA plays a role beyond that which is apparent is indicated from the nature of its operations, the contacts which it initiates and fosters with leaders of political parties in other nations, and the pressures it exerts in "unofficial" negotiations in an effort to bring about establishment of formal diplomatic relations with non-bloc nations.

It was reported in October 1959 that two former officials of the Chinese Communist Embassy in Rangoon were employed in the Kunming

office of the Institute of Foreign Affairs (Wai Chiao Hsueh Hui). If there is a CPIFA office in Kunming, it is the only one known outside the headquarters in Peking. One of the two men reported to be assigned to this Kunming office was with the Alien Affairs Section of the Canton Public Security Bureau before he was posted to the embassy in Burma. It is likely the reference was to the Alien Affairs Office of the Kunming Public Security Bureau unless the CPIFA was being used as a cover for clandestine activities concerning Burma.

A "Chinese People's Foreign Research Committee" (probably the CPIFA) was reported to be staffed in 1951 by persons who had lived abroad, working under the leadership of a small group of Party officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The CPIFA reportedly reads and analyzes information from foreign sources and reported its findings to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The CPIFA has access to the translations of the foreign press and other data overtly acquired through official Chinese Communist installations abroad. It also has access to the results of research performed by the International Studies Institute of the Academy of Sciences. It would seem logical that the CPIFA works closely with the Research Section of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but the channels through which the work of the CPIFA is directed are not clear.

Walton A. Cole, editor of Reuters, who spent twelve days in Communist China in January 1958, may have been referring to the combined product of the Foreign Radio Monitoring Service of the Broadcasting Administration Bureau, the CPIFA and the Research Section under the Information Department of the MFA when he wrote the following, published in the New York Times, 28 February 1958:

"Superficially, it might seem that the Chinese Communist leaders must be in a vacuum regarding the day-to-day occurrences in the outside world. These occurrences have little or no place in the Chinese press or on the radio. But by means of intelligently compiled news digests, based in the main on the monitoring of all available radio and news sources, and by scrutinizing the world's daily and periodical press, they are among the best informed individuals on current affairs that I have met. The world outside, as seen through these

digests, cannot appear other than topsy-turvy when compared with the accounts in the Chinese press of the always 'correct' and 'unified' Communist bloc."

C. OTHER GOVERNMENTAL AND UNOFFICIAL ORGANS CONCERNED WITH FOREIGN AFFAIRS

As in all other countries, there are other instrumentalities of the Chinese Communist Government which do not determine foreign policy but do have a role in implementation of this policy. Supplementing these official organs are a number of unofficial fronts and mass organizations. These official and unofficial organizations fall under three general groupings: 1- Trade; 2 - Cultural exchanges and propaganda; and 3 - Relations with foreigners residing in or visiting the China mainland. Most of the All-China mass organizations, such as the All China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU), have their international departments through which they participate in the activities of the respective international communist front organizations.

1. TRADE DIPLOMACY

Radio Peking broadcast the claim in September 1959 that Communist China had by then established trade relations with 93 countries or areas and had concluded governmental treaties or agreements with 27 of them. It was admitted that 75 percent of the total volume of foreign trade in the prior ten years had been with Sino-Soviet bloc countries, but gains were claimed in trade with non-Communist nations, and it was said that trade with 54 Afro-Asian countries or areas had gained 180 percent over 1950, which claim could well be true. In the year 1956 Communist China's foreign trade with the East European Soviet Satellites amounted to 22 percent of the total, according to a Soviet foreign trade journal.

a. MINISTRY OF FOREIGN TRADE

This Ministry, engaged as it is in serving the import-export requirements of Communist China, certainly operates within foreign policy guide lines laid down by the CCP and the MFA. It is official Chinese Communist policy that economics and trade cannot be separated from political objectives. Communist China's economic and trade offensive requires coordination of the activities of the

State-controlled China National Import-Export Corporation with its offices and representatives abroad, the other state-owned corporations dealing with exports and imports of specific types of goods and equipment, the Chinese Communist-owned or controlled trading companies abroad, direct government foreign trade dealings with other governments and private business firms in other countries, and the negotiation of trade agreements with other nations.

Commercial counsellors or attaches are found in most Chinese Communist embassies and legations. The Ministry of Foreign Trade appears to have some role in the selection of those named as commercial counsellors and attaches, but clearance of such appointments with Party organs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is certainly a prerequisite. In addition, there are trade agencies, trade exhibits, and economic missions in some countries where no diplomatic relations exist.

The Ministry of Foreign Trade consists of a number of functional offices and geographical area bureaus -- for example, the Fourth Bureau, or Afro-Asian Department, of which TSOU Ssu-i was the deputy director. Radio Peking identified TSOU in September 1960 as the CPG commercial representative in Cuba. The Second Bureau, headed by CHIA Shih, deals with Sino-Soviet Bloc countries, and another bureau covers dealings with European countries. PAI Jen, formerly a Vice Minister of Foreign Trade, was named Ambassador to Morocco in February 1959.

There are many examples of Chinese Communist efforts to combine the lure of trade with Communist China with political considerations and to use international commerce as a lever to bring about diplomatic recognition. Unsuccessful attempts to hold a shotgun wedding of politics and economics were made in the cases of Japan and Austria. Trade agreements have often been used as an entering wedge to bring about recognition; some examples involved Cambodia, Morocco, and Cuba.

Under the Ministry of Foreign Trade there is a Market Research Institute, which in turn has specific area research offices, such as the European-American Research Office.

#### b. CHINA NATIONAL TRADE CORPORATIONS

There are at least fifteen national trade corporations, official government organs which control all imports and exports

within specific fields as indicated in their titles (e.g., China National Silk Corporation). At the top of this import-export structure is the China National Import and Export Corporation (CNIEC). The head office of each of these corporations is in Peking. Most of them have branch offices in Shanghai, Canton, and Tientsin. Branch offices of some of the corporations are located in Tsingtao, Hankow, Foochow, Ch'angsha, Amoy, and Dairen.

An office of the China National Import and Export Corporation was established in East Berlin before the inauguration of exchanges of trade delegations to deal with non-Communist countries in Europe. CNIEC acted as sole importer of goods from these countries. The Berlin office was reported by the East German press to have closed on 14 October 1956. Although it was to be reopened in Bern, Switzerland, it appears that this office was discontinued, or the commercial counsellor of the embassy in Bern may have assumed the responsibility for purchasing in Europe. Transactions with these national corporations are often handled by trade delegations directly representing the various corporations.

#### c. TRADE EXHIBITS

There is also a department of the Ministry of Foreign Trade which arranges for trade exhibits held in Communist China and for Chinese Communist participation in fairs and exhibits abroad. Communist China has made a most favorable impression in non-Communist countries through such exhibits. For example, Communist China occupied the honored position among foreign exhibitors at the Lausanne trade fair in September 1958. The honored position had been held in past years by Portugal, Canada, Argentina, and India. Peiping's exhibit was under the patronage of the Chinese Communist Ambassador in Bern. This trade fair and one in Basel in 1959 drew visitors from all over Europe and gave the Chinese Communists an opportunity to exploit extensive commercial contacts.

#### d. CHINA COMMITTEE FOR PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Closely related to Communist China's endeavor to expand its foreign trade is a front organization, the China Committee for the Promotion of International Trade (CCPIT), which is functionally but not organizationally under the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Because the

CCPIT sends delegations to many free world areas in order to pave the way for trade with non-Communist countries, it must be considered as participating in people's diplomacy; and its activities certainly are closely keyed to foreign trade relations in the broader sense.

The CCPIT was established in May 1952. It has two main objectives: (1) to persuade businessmen in non-Communist countries that strategic embargoes on trade with the Soviet bloc and China are detrimental to their own best interest; and (2) to develop trade relations with non-Communist countries. It was closely affiliated with the International Committee for Promotion of Trade (ICPT), an international Communist front reportedly dissolved in 1956. The CCPIT has sent numerous trade delegations to Japan, South Asia, the Near and Middle East, Africa, Europe, and Latin America; has sponsored numerous exhibits at international fairs; and has concluded trade agreements with private commercial groups in Great Britain, Japan, France, Italy, Ceylon, Egypt, Burma, India, and other non-Communist countries.

## 2. CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AND PROPAGANDA

One of the five staff offices under the CPG State Council is the Staff Office for Culture and Education. Under this staff office falls the Ministry of Culture, which is generally responsible for all domestic propaganda activities conducted through the government and the production of most of the published propaganda which is sent abroad. The Staff Office also exercises some measure of supervision over the domestic operations of such propaganda media as the New China News Agency (NCNA) and the facilities and programs of the Broadcasting Administration Bureau (BAB). The foreign bureaus and offices of the NCNA and the foreign broadcasts and monitoring of programs broadcast from other nations by the BAB are probably under the joint cognizance of the Staff Office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The governmental Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (CCRFC) is also under the direction of the Staff Office for Foreign Affairs, and its activities are coordinated with foreign policy as administered through the Foreign Ministry. The unofficial Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries also takes its direction from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

### a. COMMISSION FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES (CCRFC)

The CCRFC was established in February 1958 as successor to the special agency of the State Council known as the Liaison Bureau for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. This Commission sponsors cultural relations and exchanges of persons with the Sino-Soviet Bloc countries and non-Bloc nations with which Communist China has formal cultural exchange agreements. It maintains liaison with similar organizations found in each of the Sino-Soviet Bloc countries, appears to direct the affairs of the friendship associations for each of the Bloc countries in Communist China, and works with the China friendship associations in each of the Sino-Soviet Bloc nations.

b. ASSOCIATION FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES (ACRFC)

The ACRFC, formally established in May 1954, performs the same functions as described above for the CCRFC but in all known instances has confined these activities to non-Sino-Soviet Bloc nations. Although little is known of the organizational structure of either the CCRFC or ACRFC, it is probable that there are functional and area sections under each. LIU Po-kang was reported by one source in September 1958 to be head of the Japan section of the ACRFC. In July 1960, WU Ching was named as deputy head of a Second Department under the CCRFC. (See Attachment 2 for the names of CCRFC and ACRFC officials.)

c. NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY (NCNA)

Founded in 1932, the NCNA opened its first foreign bureau in 1949. It now has foreign bureaus or offices in 27 of the 34 countries with which Communist China has diplomatic relations and in four countries or areas (France, West Germany, Hong Kong, and Macao) where there are no diplomatic installations. Through all these offices and bureaus, as well as from other correspondents on roving assignment, news is collected and sent to Peking, large amounts of overt information which is not classifiable as news are acquired and sent to headquarters in Peking, and the personnel assigned to these bureaus and offices perform other functions which are not normally performed by a bona fide news agency. The NCNA bureaus and offices in most instances monitor the Peking newscasts, and these monitored items are used in the publication of news bulletins which are widely distributed. Agreements to exchange their news files are in effect with the national news agencies of all the Sino-Soviet Bloc nations and with foreign news

agencies of several free world countries. All of these news agencies also have correspondents stationed in Peking, and some foreign communists are employed at NCNA headquarters.

d. BROADCASTING ADMINISTRATION BUREAU (BAB)

As one of the special agencies, the BAB is administratively subordinate to Staff Office for Culture and Education of the State Council. Policy and political control of the BAB is exercised by the CCP Propaganda Department, and its foreign broadcasts are subject to close coordination with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to insure compliance with Communist China's foreign policy. Before news from the outside world is broadcast to the large listening audience on the China mainland over the domestic radio and television network, it is carefully screened by an editorial committee of party members which provides guidance in conformance with current foreign policy and controls the context and timing of such broadcasts.

In August 1944 the New China News Agency began daily foreign broadcasts of news in English Morse code from Yen-an. The New China Broadcasting Station in Yen-an was established in September 1945 and the volume of foreign broadcasts increased. In October 1949 the Central People's Broadcasting Station was set up in Peking. By 1955 the BAB facilities were broadcasting 78 3/4 hours of foreign programs of news, propaganda, and music in seven languages, plus programs beamed to Taiwan, and others totaling 11 1/2 hours daily in five Chinese dialects directed to Chinese residing overseas. By May 1960 the BAB was operating 22 transmitters beaming news and propaganda abroad for a total of 674 program hours per week in at least 19 foreign languages and five Chinese dialects, a rate second only to Radio Moscow's 975 hours among the Sino-Soviet Bloc nations. As announcers and translators the BAB foreign broadcasts use many foreign nationals, including party members sent by foreign Communist parties to engage in this work, and a number of Chinese who learned other languages while residing abroad. The Overseas Broadcasting Division of BAB also prepares and broadcasts special programs of domestic news and editorial reactions to international news from the Chinese Communist viewpoint. These programs are believed to be intended for the guidance of embassies and other official installations abroad.

Since 1937 the Chinese Communist broadcasting facility has monitored foreign news broadcasts for use by the New China News

Agency and for the information of the Chinese Communist leadership. At present the Foreign Radio Monitoring Division of the BAB monitors, transcribes, and translates news programs broadcast from nations in areas of interest to Communist China throughout the world. Staffed by Party and Youth League members, this division prepares briefs on international news every two hours and distributes them to key Party, government, and Foreign Ministry officials. The news so monitored is passed to the NCNA for selective use in its news service and is used in the preparation of two daily classified bulletins published by the NCNA for distribution to a select group of Party and government officials. This monitoring service enables the Chinese Communist propaganda organization and Foreign Ministry to react rapidly to happenings of international interest bearing upon Communist China's foreign policy, status, or interests.

### 3. OVERSEAS CHINESE AFFAIRS COMMISSION (OCAC)

This Commission, under the State Council, is concerned with matters involving the 14,000,000 hua ch'iao (Chinese temporarily residing abroad, most often referred to as "Overseas Chinese"). It receives its direction from the CCP, principally from the United Front Work and Propaganda Departments of the Central Committee. The Commission is concerned not only with Chinese residing overseas but also with those returning from overseas residence or study, either to visit or to reside permanently on the mainland. It operates hostels and a mechanism for the reception and handling of those who are visiting. A front organization known as the Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese has been created with branches throughout the mainland, to which all returning for permanent residence are virtually required to belong.

Many channels and methods are employed by the Chinese Communists to acquire and retain the loyalty to the Communist regime of these large communities of Chinese residing abroad. Wherever they exist, embassies work extensively among these largely unassimilated groups. Branches of the Bank of China have Overseas Chinese Departments to handle remittances, spread propaganda, and perform other tasks on behalf of Peking. The United Front Work Department of the CCP has agents within these Chinese communities. Some New China News Agency bureaus maintain contact with and sponsor cultural activities among them. Special Radio Peking broadcasts are directed to the Chinese overseas. The Communist-controlled and pro-Communist press, schools, and various business and labor organizations in foreign

countries afford assistance in bringing the hua ch'iao under the control or influence of Peking. Communist China must often walk a narrow path to avoid offending the local governments with which Peking has diplomatic relations and which resent the presence of these large bodies of unassimilated Chinese, while still preserving the loyalty or good will of the hua ch'iao, who are under local government pressures and restrictions.

The OCAC also collaborates with the CCP United Front Work Department in organizing associations of overseas Chinese and in gaining Chinese Communist control over those already established. In one Southeast Asian nation the Chinese Communist-controlled association plays a prominent part in the political activities of the large hua ch'iao community and works closely with Chinese Communist diplomatic and consular installations in investigating and processing applications by Chinese residing in that country for passports.

#### 4. OTHER GOVERNMENT AND UNOFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS

No attempt will be made herein to enumerate or describe the foreign activities of all of the other government ministries and special agencies, mass organizations, and fronts. Suffice it to say that there is a foreign department in almost every ministry and an international liaison department in all the All-China federations (youth, students, women, journalists, labor, scientists, etc.). The Chinese national fronts which are counterparts of such bodies as the World Peace Council and the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council are patently set up to participate in the international or regional Communist front organizations.

A few of these other organizations and foreign operations are worthy of some comment:

##### a. BANK OF CHINA

One of the special agencies under the State Council's Staff Office for Finance and Trade is the People's Bank of China. Its Foreign Operations Department directs the banking and other activities of the banks (all State-owned) outside Communist China, including the eleven branches of the Bank of China. All these branches are in South and Southeast Asia except the one in London, the most important banking office being in Hong Kong. As subsidiaries of the sole foreign exchange bank for Communist China, Bank of China branches perform

all the usual banking functions, such as financing foreign trade, making loans to borrowers (principally Chinese) abroad, and transferring remittances to and from the China mainland. Most of these branches also have departments which collect commercial and economic information concerning the host countries and trade with these countries. In addition to their normal banking functions, these branches of the Bank of China and their personnel perform duties and functions relating to propaganda, political action, control of the Chinese residing overseas, and subversion. They also are utilized in the funding of the various overt and covert activities in the countries where they are located and in the performance of certain tasks which would normally be assigned to consular installations.

b. CHINA INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL AGENCY

The China Travel Service, which deals largely with Chinese returning from overseas on visits or for permanent residence, supervises the itineraries of visitors from other nations while they are on the China mainland. There is also a China International Travel Agency (or Bureau) which, established about the end of 1956 or in early 1957, operates like the Soviet INTOURIST, although on a smaller scale. Little is known of this agency, although it has formalized protocols with INTOURIST and travel agencies of other Communist nations for the annual handling of specified numbers of private tourists. The first group of 51 such Soviet tourists arrived in Communist China in January 1957. The International Travel Agency apparently has branches throughout Communist China and possibly is represented abroad in Sino-Soviet bloc countries.

c. INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS

Although Communist China is not a member of the Universal Postal Union (UPU), postal channels to and from the China mainland are open to virtually all parts of the world, and the UPU has a working relationship with the China mainland which conforms with postal union rules. Development of international communications by Communist China has been principally oriented to the Sino-Soviet bloc, but telecommunications agreements or contracts have been established with more than forty countries. Long distance telegraph and telephone service connects Peking with all the other Communist nations. Radio-telegraph and radio-telephone service from Peking or Shanghai is maintained with Tokyo and Osaka in Japan and with London, Paris, Geneva, Hong Kong, India, Burma, Indonesia, and other important

communications centers. There is radiophoto service between Peking and Tokyo, Geneva, and probably Prague. Additional telecommunications circuits have been projected.

d. CIVIL AVIATION BUREAU

Communist China's airlines, under the Civil Aviation Bureau, have expanded to connect all of China's major cities. International service is available to the USSR, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Burma. Further extensions to Hong Kong, Japan, India, Ceylon, and Cambodia are in the planning or negotiation stages. Air service to most points in Europe, Africa, and Latin America is available via connections in Moscow, Prague, and Zurich. Persons traveling by air to Japan or South and Southeast Asia cross over the border at Hong Kong and make connections there.

e. ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Although not a formal governmental organ, this Academy serves the Party and government in the course of its activities. One of its many institutes, the International Relations Research Institute, is believed to do long-range, overt research on foreign affairs not related to the day-to-day conduct of foreign relations. Also under the Academy is a Scientific Information Institute which came into being in 1956 and flooded universities and scientific bodies of Western nations with requests for the exchange of literature, publications, and other scientific and technical data. JEN Sheng, an official of the Academy, told a news correspondent visiting Peking in 1958, "We have the Institute of Scientific Information, whose task is to get data from the whole world. We study the scientific merits of any country, no matter how big or small, friendly or antagonistic".

Reference has been made to the existence of a Foreign Office Department (although the exact title was not known), divided into sections for particular countries or areas, which dealt with such matters between Communist China and these areas as liaison on joint scientific projects. This department may be the same as the Academy's Bureau of Scientific Relations with Foreign Countries, headed by WANG T'ao.

## 5. MILITARY

The Ministry of National Defense, directly under the State Council, is referred to by the Chinese Communists as the executive and administrative organ for the Red Chinese armed forces, called the People's Liberation Army (PLA), which encompasses all branches of the military services. Through its Military Affairs Committee and a General Political Department of the Central Committee, directly attached to the armed forces, the Communist Party of China exercises the actual control over the PLA, which has repeatedly been described as the military arm of the Party.

The PLA has a dual role: the defense of the China mainland and participation in international military affairs. The latter is illustrated in:

- a. Participation of the Chinese People's Volunteers of the PLA in the Korean War.
- b. Presence of PLA military advisors in Communist nations of the Far East.
- c. Support of Communist guerrilla forces in Malaya, the Philippines, and elsewhere.
- d. The existence of a Foreign Affairs Department in the Ministry of National Defense, the functions of which include:
  - (1) Participation in the assignment to diplomatic installations abroad of military attaches who engage in the collection of military information and liaison with foreign military services.
  - (2) Liaison with military attaches of other nations assigned to their embassies in Peking.
  - (3) Supporting Chinese Communist military missions traveling abroad.
  - (4) Receiving and planning itineraries of foreign military missions visiting Communist China.

- (5) Dispatching Military Advisors to serve with military and guerrilla forces of other countries.
- e. Offers to furnish and actually supplying war materiel and military manpower to armed forces in rebellion against governments of nations of the free world. Examples are offers to the Algerian rebel forces and encouragement and support of pro-Communist and anti-Western forces in nations where Communism is competing for control.
- f. Assisting Communist insurgency and subversion directed against the military and internal security forces of other nations, and encouraging civil disorders against governments of nations friendly to the West, such as Laos and Japan.
- g. Engaging in hostile military action, as in Quemoy and in the Indian and Nepalese border incidents.

#### IV. FOREIGN SERVICE TRAINING

It goes without saying that few, if any, personnel of the Foreign Ministry or foreign service of the predecessor government on the China mainland would be used in responsible ministry or diplomatic posts under the CPG after the Chinese Communists took over in 1949. Few trusted Chinese Communist cadres had adequate experience in foreign affairs and diplomacy prior to 1949. Available Party personnel who had any degree of experience or qualifications to hold such posts fell into four categories:

a. Those who had served the CCP in dealings with the Chinese Nationalist Government over the years up to 1948 and in the unproductive negotiations carried on under the auspices of the Marshall Mission in 1946.

b. Those who had been associated with the USSR and its satellites through the Comintern and Cominform, or who had served abroad at headquarters of the Comintern, Cominform, or the various international Communist front organizations.

c. Those who had resided or studied abroad for protracted periods and had thus established contacts with the people of these areas and/or language qualifications.

d. A relatively small number of CCP members who had engaged in study or research concerning political science and foreign relations.

Since the 1930's some secret CCP members have participated in an organization known as the Chinese Foreign Relations Association. One example is WANG Ping-nan, now Ambassador to Poland, who was educated in Japan and Germany, who was associated in the 1930's with the Berlin branch of the Comintern, and who returned to China in 1935, ostensibly as a leader in one of the small non-government political parties. Secretary of the Chinese People's Foreign Relations Association in 1939 in Chungking, he subsequently emerged as a member of the CCP headquarters staff. He appeared in Peking in 1949 and, before establishment of the Chinese Communist Government, assisted in the organization of a Foreign Affairs School. He joined the CPG

Foreign Ministry upon its founding and became an assistant to the Foreign Minister. He later appeared as secretary general of the Chinese Communist delegation, headed by CHOU En-lai, to the Korean Political Conference in Geneva in April 1954.

Lacking trained and experienced CCP cadre in sufficient numbers to staff the Foreign Ministry and the diplomatic installations being opened in 1949-1950 in the Sino-Soviet Bloc and free world nations, the Party called upon inexperienced but trusted CCP leaders and senior military officers, filling in the gaps with Communist Youth League members. In these early days of the CPG, assignments to diplomatic posts in the Sino-Soviet bloc nations served as a training ground in foreign affairs. Some CCP cadres were trained in foreign service schools in the USSR, and those who were assigned to key posts outside the bloc were able to draw upon the support and counsel of experienced Soviet diplomats.

Prior to 1949, in the areas controlled by the Chinese Communists, Public Security Bureaus had been established. Under some of these bureaus Foreign Affairs Sections (also known as Alien Control Sections) were established as a device to monitor the activities of foreigners (non-Chinese). Some of the persons later drawn into the Foreign Ministry came from these Foreign Affairs Sections. By 1952 the CPG Foreign Ministry had established its own training program, which was turning out party cadres with some knowledge of foreign affairs and foreign languages in sufficient numbers to staff the expanding Chinese Communist diplomatic corps abroad.

It is known that hundreds of Chinese have studied at various Soviet higher party schools and institutes, but the proportion or numbers of these students trained as specialists in diplomacy and the foreign service is not known. By the 1930's there were two schools in Moscow training specialists for foreign service careers: the Institute for Preparation of Diplomatic and Consular Workers and the Higher Diplomatic School, now known as the Moscow Diplomatic School. In Moscow two institutions sponsored by the Personnel Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs now offer training for a foreign service career, the Institute of International Relations and the Moscow Diplomatic School. The latter is the foremost training center for prospective foreign service personnel in the Sino-Soviet bloc. The Soviet Institute of International Relations offers three types of training: a 6-year course for candidates with a secondary school education; a 2 to 3 year course for graduates of a university or the equivalent; and

"in-service" training of indeterminate length for non-professionals, with refresher courses for "junior" diplomats returning from abroad.

The Soviet Institute has approximately 1,000 applicants in any given year, accepting about 200 or more of these applicants and graduating about 80. Students from the Sino-Soviet Bloc have been admitted since the early 1950's, tuition costs being borne by the country of origin. Of the Bloc students in attendance during the year 1954-1955, 70 were Chinese, more than from any other Bloc member. It is to be presumed that the security of all Chinese candidates must be cleared by the Communist Party of China and that they must be members of the Party or the Youth League. It is not known whether any Chinese Communist students have attended the Moscow Diplomatic School, which may confine its admissions to more experienced officers of special potentiality in view of the fact that the enrollment in the Institute is much larger. The existence of a separate Soviet Institute of Chinese Studies, formerly a part of the Institute of Oriental Studies under the USSR Academy of Sciences, and of a number of foreign language schools is known; but the extent to which Chinese have been trained in these schools is not. There are Chinese instructors on the staffs of several of the more important Soviet schools teaching oriental languages.

The first formal training of Chinese Communist foreign service personnel, begun at some undetermined date after the Communists took over the mainland in 1949, was conducted at the International Relations Department on the campus of the People's University. In late 1955 or early 1956 the Foreign Service Institute was established on Exhibition Hall Road in Peking, as the successor to the former university department. A Radio Peking broadcast in September 1955 stated that an "Institute of Diplomacy" was to be set up in Peking under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In October 1956 there were reports that Chinese repatriated from the U.S. were teaching at this institute. Radio Peking broadcasts in 1957 referred to a "Foreign Affairs College", to an "International Diplomacy Academy of Peking", and to an "Institute of Diplomacy", all believed to have been the same as the Foreign Service Institute. Some "student consuls" serving in embassies abroad were later reported to have graduated from the Foreign Service Institute.

## A. INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (IIR)

(Kuo Chi Kuan Hsi Hsueh Yuan, 0948/7139/7070/0190/1331/7108)

In July 1958 the name of the Foreign Service Institute was changed to the Institute of International Relations. This Institute is located on Chan Len Kuan Road, Pai Wan Chuang Lu, Peking, across from the CCP Municipal Committee Party School, in a four-story building constructed in 1956, which houses the administrative offices, classrooms, and dormitory rooms for students. The Institute is in a compound with a number of houses, several athletic fields, a four-story dormitory for teachers, a three-story dormitory for students, a service building with dispensary, and a mess hall.

Originally, a number of Soviet advisors, most of whom are believed to have returned to the USSR, helped establish the institute and its curriculum, based upon the organization and program of the Institute of International Relations in Moscow. Among the Soviet advisors reported working with the IIR in 1958 were TUPINSKY, former deputy dean of the Soviet IIR and a German expert; TCHEKAVSKY, a legal expert; and DOPAVA, a female linguistic expert. A Dr. MALINSIKOV and one KUDAKOV were also reported to be among these advisors up to mid-1958. By the end of 1958 all instructors were Chinese, although Soviet advisors sometimes lectured to the faculty (but not to the students). At the end of 1958 there apparently was only one Soviet advisor to the IIR, a specialist on international economics who also was advisor to the Institute of International Studies of the Academy of Sciences.

Funds to support the Institute come from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Education, or possibly from both. The policy and operations of the institute are actually controlled by the Institute's CCP Committee, which also guides Communist Youth League activities among the students. The IIR is not known to have a program for the exchange of study material with the USSR or any other Bloc nation, although there were some twenty students from Sino-Soviet Bloc countries enrolled in the IIR in 1958.

Regular courses of study at the IIR last four to five years, with special two to three year courses for CCP cadres and persons who had served abroad. The five year course is designed for language specialists. In late 1958 the IIR had two academic departments, the International Relations Department and the Foreign Languages Department. The IIR curriculum is apparently designed principally to turn

out well-indoctrinated Communists rather than qualified diplomats. Training stressed Communist propaganda, the supreme authority of the Communist Party and state, and the ultimate goal of the country and its people to become dominant among all nations of the world. A former student was of the opinion that there was no realistic presentation of world politics, intra-bloc affairs, or Western internal affairs.

The IIR has four administrative offices: the Director's Office for over-all supervision; the Educational Administrative Office, which handles matters such as setting up the curriculum, administration of instructors, and the guidance of research; the Personnel Office, which handles enrollments, transfers, faculty administration, and assignment of CCP cadre within the IIR; and the General Affairs Office, which handles finances, dormitory assignments, food service, and maintenance of buildings and equipment.

CH'EN Hsin-jen, former Ambassador to Finland, is president as well as secretary of the CCP Committee of the IIR. The three vice presidents are HO Wu-shuang, K'UNG Hsiang-lin, and LI En-ch'iu, the IIR Executive Director. CHANG Hsin-ch'uan is chief of the President's Secretariat. LI Kuang heads the IIR Foreign Languages Department. SUN Chun-ching is director of the General Affairs Office, LIU Chien-yang heads the Personnel Office, and K'UNG Hsiang-lin is concurrently head of the Educational Administrative Office. HO Wu-shuang is concurrently director of the International Relations Department. Most of the IIR instructors are members of the CCP or its Youth Corps, many of the younger ones having been trained by Soviet advisors at the People's University International Relations Department.

In 1954 the former International Relations Department of the People's University had about five hundred students, a number reduced to approximately four hundred by the time the Foreign Service Institute was founded in 1956. By late 1958 about six hundred were enrolled at the IIR. Entrance requirements place heavy stress upon political reliability, loyalty to the CCP, and freedom from any reactionary background or foreign connections. A National Student Recruitment Committee of the Ministry of Education screens applications from all middle school students seeking entrance into any institution of higher learning, and those chosen for enrollment in the IIR are considered highly privileged.

Chinese students were Party cadre of middle and low level as well as middle-school graduates training for diplomatic assignments. Some students had already served abroad in the foreign service, others had previously worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and some came from the military or other government offices.

Upon completion of his course each student is asked to state a preference for his future work as a teacher, as a researcher in international affairs, or for assignment to a diplomatic installation abroad. Only 5 to 10 percent of the graduates get foreign assignments. A few are selected for teaching assignments on the IIR Staff. Others are sent to the Institute of International Studies of the Academy of Sciences, to the foreign affairs offices of ministries and commissions under the State Council, and to the international liaison sections of the mass organizations (such as the All China Federation of Trade Unions). However, the largest number is assigned to area and functional departments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Peking. Those who enter the IIR as CCP cadre usually receive better posts than do the "young students", who come directly from middle schools.

Foreign service personnel are usually referred to in Communist China as "foreign service cadres" rather than as "foreign service officers". Cadre students are more apt to be assigned as staff employees and the "young students" as functionaries. After leaving the IIR, graduates reside at a foreign service hostel in the eastern suburbs of Peking. Those assigned abroad are allowed to visit their homes on leave, at their own expense, before taking up assignment abroad.

One source, who was employed in the Foreign Ministry at Peking until the end of 1958, stated that the salary of a college graduate joining the Ministry in 1955 was ¥ 50 per month for grade 22, raised to ¥ 69 per month the following year for a grade 20. His assigned living quarters were first in a four-man room, later a two-man room, finally a single room, the latter costing ¥ 1.40 a month furnished. He ate in a mess hall at a monthly expense of up to ¥ 18. Each week he attended a meeting addressed by a cadre of ministerial level, and each day he read the bulletin, Reference News (Ts'an K'ao Hsiao Hsi), compiled by the New China News Agency from the monitoring of foreign news broadcasts and limited in circulation. He received free medical care and, if called upon to act as an interpreter, was given evening dress or other appropriate apparel needed for social functions.

According to this same source, CHENG P'ing, former dean at the IIR up to 1958, was assigned to the post of first secretary of the Chinese Communist Embassy in Cambodia.

In addition to Communist Party newspapers and publications published in the Sino-Soviet Bloc as well as in some free nations, the students have access to the London Times and New York Times.

Among the students at the IIR have been some from the USSR, the East European satellites, Yugoslavia, North Korea, and North Vietnam, although the number of such foreign students has been relatively small. In 1958, of the some 600 students in the IIR, four were Poles, two each were from East Germany, Rumania and Hungary, one each from Albania and Yugoslavia, and more than 20 from North Vietnam.

Tuition for all Chinese students is free and living quarters are provided, but all students have to pay for food, clothing and books. Some scholarships are given. Uniforms are not worn by students of the IIR. Cadre students continue to receive regular salaries while in attendance at the IIR. Tuition of foreign students is paid by the sponsoring country.

The CCP Committee of the IIR directs all indoctrination, "criticism sessions", cultural and party activities. A CCP member is assigned to supervise the work of the well-organized Communist Youth League chapter.

The courses given at the IIR may be broken down into four general categories: basic subjects such as geography, history, law and cultures; political theory, principally Marxism and Leninism; history of the Chinese revolution; Communist philosophy, historic and dialectic materialism; foreign affairs, including history of international political and economic relations; international public and private law; history of Chinese diplomacy and foreign policy; and foreign languages. Among the languages taught at the IIR were English (34 instructors), French (25 teachers), Russian (20 instructors), German, Spanish, Japanese, and Arabic. Students usually studied a primary language for a three-year period and a secondary tongue for one year; language specialists devote their fifth year to their specialty.

Guest lecturers at the IIR have included Premier CHOU En-lai; Foreign Minister CH'EN I; Vice Foreign Ministers CHANG Han-fu,

LO Kuei-po, CHI P'eng-fei, and TSENG Yung-ch'uan; former Vice Foreign Minister CHANG Wen-t'ien; KUNG P'eng, head of the Information Department of the MFA; HUANG Hua, who at the time was head of the former MFA West European and African Affairs Office; and Ambassadors on leave in Communist China, including WANG Ping-nan (Poland), HUANG Chen (Indonesia), WU Hsiu-ch'uan (Yugoslavia), and HAN Nien-lung, former Ambassador to Pakistan.

CHOU En-lai in one lecture listed the four basic duties of cadres in the diplomatic service as:

1. Possessing the spirit of and upholding the interests of the working class;
2. Executing loyally the policies of the CCP and the foreign policies of Communist China because, by merely serving the working class, a cadre might be ignoring the strategy of the Party;
3. Mastering the skills of the diplomatic profession, including understanding the language of the country to which assigned; and
4. Observing discipline and obeying all orders of their superiors.

Only CCP and Youth Corps members are allowed to attend these guest lectures, which sometimes are given by non-Chinese visitors to Peking. From the "blooming and contending" program beginning in May 1956 through the implementation of the "leap forward" program in 1958-1959, all students and faculty members were required to participate in these campaigns. A few persons were condemned as rightists and punished in one way or another, dependent upon the seriousness of the charges against them.

## B. LANGUAGE TRAINING

In addition to the IIR, there is also a Foreign Language College, of which CHANG Hsi-ch'ou is President. It is one of the departments of Peking University, and similar colleges reportedly exist in other principal universities such as that in Harbin. An official of Peking

University told a visitor from abroad that this college was established in 1944 and that in October 1958 there were 886 students studying English, German, French, Spanish, and Rumanian. The Peking University Foreign Language College seeks to turn out graduates capable of understanding, speaking, reading, and writing the language in which they specialize. However, one observer stated the stress was principally on translation and conversation.

A leading educator from one Asian nation stated, after a visit to Peking, that an institute had been established in that city to train specialists in language, literature, history, music, etc., of his country. Under instruction were Chinese students who had lived in the Asian nation and had been brought to Peking for this special training, as well as CCP cadres. The educator commented that these students were so well-trained that they could pass unnoticed as nationals in an average community in the educator's home country.

A number of Chinese are also known to have attended the Institute of Eastern Languages in Moscow, where oriental and South Asian languages as well as those of the Near East and Africa are taught. Chinese have also studied at the Institute of Foreign Languages in Moscow, where instruction in Western languages is given.

Although it is not known to what extent the practice is carried out, personnel have been assigned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the embassy in one country where they underwent intensive training in the language of the area to prepare them linguistically for assignments in that and adjoining countries. In this instance a villa was rented by the embassy and equipped as a secure area where the first group of ten Foreign Ministry employees spent two years studying the language under tutelage of local nationals, after which the members of this group were assigned to posts in the host and neighboring nations. There were four non-Chinese instructors, who were the only nationals of the host country allowed access to the school's quarters. These students, and a subsequent group, were each given the title of "functionary" while engaged in this language training.

V. SUMMARY DATA CONCERNING KEY FIGURES  
IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A. STAFF OFFICE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND MINISTRY OF  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

This summarization is based on biographic data available as of 1 October 1960 concerning the 58 key personnel of the Staff Office and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Little is known of some of these 58 persons other than that they are in their present positions. However, some observations on the education, experience, and capabilities of this group can be made.

1. Of the 26 most important members in the group, including those down to the level of heads of Geographical Offices and Functional Departments:

a. The ages of only 15 of the 26 are known and the average is approximately 50 years.

b. The average experience in foreign affairs of those on whom data are available is nine years.

c. Eleven have held posts in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs other than their present ones.

d. Three formerly headed Alien Affairs Offices under the Ministry of Public Security.

e. Eighteen have had some experience abroad, six of these as Ambassadors (three in the Soviet Bloc, one in Burma, and two who served both in Sweden and Pakistan), and five others have held diplomatic posts abroad.

f. Three represented the Chinese Communists in dealings in 1946 with the Marshall Mission to China; one has participated in the U.S. - Communist China ambassadorial level talks in Geneva; a number have attended meetings of various international Communist front organizations; and many have traveled abroad since 1949 with Chinese Communist delegations.

g. One of the 26, CH'EN I, is a member of the all-powerful CCP Political Bureau Standing Committee; two are full members and three are alternate members of the CCP Central Committee.

h. There is no information on the educational background of 11 of the 26; two are known to have had little or no formal schooling; four are graduates of middle or normal schools; three had some university training; ten are graduates of Chinese universities, and three were graduated from or taught in Chinese military academies. At least two studied at the Chinese Communist Marx-Lenin Academy at Yen-an.

i. Of the 26, eight studied abroad in one or more of the following countries: Germany (3); the U.S., Japan, and France (2 each); in the United Kingdom; and six at the Sun Yat Sen University for Toilers of China in Moscow.

j. Three of the 26 were members of the Chinese Communist delegation which appeared at the UN Security Council meeting at Lake Success in 1950. One other formerly worked for a department of the UN.

k. Two have backgrounds as writers on political science and as Communist propagandists; three were at one time Christians; seven come from well-to-do families; seven have been closely associated with CHOU En-lai over a period of years; six have husbands or wives who are also associated with the MFA or the diplomatic service; and the wives of three are active in international Communist fronts.

l. Of a number who worked before 1949 in the Communist underground, many were arrested for Communist activities; at least six were deported from foreign countries for Communist activities therein; and some had to flee from the China mainland for varying periods of time to avoid arrest.

m. Some who dealt with Americans prior to 1949 and were known as friendly and affable (a few even being described as "Westernized") have proven sullen and unfriendly in contacts with Americans since 1949. Some of those who are known to speak English well (such as CHOU En-lai) now insist on carrying on all conversations through interpreters. Characteristics

common to most of those in contact with Westerners include stubbornness and inflexible adherence to Communist (particularly Chinese Communist) doctrine and principles.

2. Of the 32 others among the 58 leaders, one was a former ambassador to the Mongolian People's Republic; twelve have formerly served in other diplomatic posts abroad; and eight were formerly with Alien Affairs Offices of the Ministry of Public Security.

3. Of the total of 58, three are women; twelve are known officials of the People's Institute of Foreign Affairs; four have backgrounds in propaganda work; at least eight are ex-military personnel; five have served the CCP as political commissars; three are noted for their labor activities; two have past records in the field of foreign trade; one has been a leader in affairs of Chinese residing overseas; and at least two are suspected of having engaged in collection of intelligence. A number of these persons are affiliated with friendship associations in Peking.

4. Almost all of those now assigned to top diplomatic posts abroad served for some time in the Peking headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Notable among these are the present Ambassadors to Ceylon, Denmark, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Pakistan, Poland, Sweden, Sudan, Ghana, Guinea, the UAR, and North Vietnam, and the Charges d'Affaires to the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

5. Known language capabilities (varying from slight to fluency and some with more than one language) among the 58 key personalities considered in this survey include: English - 23, Russian - 12, French - 7, German - 5, Japanese - 3, Malayan - 1, Hindustani - 1, and Vietnamese - 1. Of the 33 ambassadors and chargés d'affaires, the language capabilities of 17 are known, and of these 14 have a capability in English ranging from fair to fluent, two of them being considered expert in that language. Six are familiar with Russian, and 6 of the 17 have capability in some other foreign language. Most of the other 16 ambassadors and chargés probably have some degree of language ability, but pertinent data are not available. At least eight in the top echelons of the Foreign Ministry and a dozen or more leaders in the PIFA are rated as fluent in English.

6. Although a few of the 58 are known to have received some training in the USSR, none is known to have studied international relations there or elsewhere abroad. None is known to have been graduated

from the Foreign Service Institute or its successor, the Institute for International Relations (IIR) in Peking, but some may have taken refresher courses there. Many have lectured to students of this institute. A former dean of the IIR is reported to be first secretary of the embassy in Cambodia.

7. Ten of the 58 participated actively in negotiations with the Chinese Nationalists and the Marshall Mission to China in the late 1940's; others had some peripheral connections with these negotiations, and one was in liaison with UNRRA in Shantung.

8. Of the present five Vice Ministers of Foreign Affairs, four previously served as Ambassadors, all but one in Communist nations. One of the three Assistants to the Minister was formerly an Ambassador, and another accompanied her husband on his tour as Ambassador to the USSR.

9. Four of the six heads of geographical offices have served in diplomatic posts abroad, and four of the six have served on other MFA desks at Peking headquarters. Of the seven known heads of the MFA functional departments, three have held posts in diplomatic installations in other countries, one as an ambassador; two have served on other desks in the Ministry; and the head of one department is concurrently an Assistant to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

10. Only one of the four known top figures in the Institute of International Relations is known to have served in another post in the MFA. This same person also has had four years of service as counselor in Chinese Communist embassies abroad.

#### B. CCRFC, ACRFC, AND CPIFA

11. Significant facts gleaned from analysis of the backgrounds of the 23 key officials of the organizations appearing in Attachment 2 are:

a. The ages of 15 of the 23 are known to average 59 years. Most are well educated.

b. One member of the CCRFC, CHANG Han-fu, is a Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs and an alternate member of the CCP Central Committee.

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c. One of the Vice Chairmen of the CCRFC, who is also a member of the Standing Committee of the Executive Council of the ACRFC, has long been associated with Chinese Communist intelligence services and has traveled abroad under the cover of his CCRFC post. Four others connected with the CCRFC or CPIFA are known to have had some experience in intelligence and security work.

d. Four members of the Standing Committee of the CCRFC Executive Council are full members of the CCP Central Committee, and one is an alternate member. LIAO Ch'eng-chih and LIU Ning-i, both Deputy Directors of the Staff Office for Foreign Affairs, are also on the ACRFC Standing Committee.

e. Vice Chairmen CH'IAO Kuan-hua of the CPIFA is an Assistant to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Two full members and one alternate member of the CCP Central Committee are on the CPIFA board of directors. The following six members of the CPIFA board of directors also hold or held leading posts in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: CHANG Wen-chin, CHI P'eng-fei, HUANG Hua (became Ambassador to Ghana August 1960), KUNG P'eng, K'UNG Ta-fei (named counselor, Ghana, 15 August 1960), and YÜ P'ei-wen. WANG Yin-p'u, a deputy secretary general of the CPIFA, was identified in mid-1958 as a deputy director of the American and Australian Office of the MFA. WANG in 1949-1950 was director of the Peking Alien Affairs Office of the Ministry of Public Security.

f. Of the twenty-three leaders of the CCRFC, ACRFC, and CPIFA, twelve are leaders in the so-called friendship associations (e.g., China-India Friendship Association); eleven are officials of or active participants in international Communist front organizations; seventeen have traveled widely abroad with cultural and other delegations; thirteen were educated abroad; three have resided in the U.S. at one time or another; three were members of the 1950 Chinese Communist delegation which appeared before the U.N. Security Council at Lake Success; and two have in the past been connected with the Institute for Pacific Relations. The known language capabilities of these 23 leaders include English (11), French and Japanese (4 each), German and Russian (2 each); and two have previously served in posts in Chinese Communist embassies abroad.

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### C. INTERNATIONAL LIAISON (FOREIGN) DEPARTMENT

12. The man tentatively identified as the director of the CCP International Liaison (Foreign) Department was formerly Ambassador to the USSR and later a Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is also the specialist in foreign affairs on the important Party Secretariat. One of those believed to be a deputy director of this CCP department was formerly Ambassador to Yugoslavia and has held high posts in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 1949, including that of Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1951-1955. Both are full members of the CCP Central Committee.

13. Although confirming data are not always available, sources have reported that all holding the posts of director or deputy director of the Staff Office for Foreign Affairs, the top posts in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and positions as heads and deputy heads of the functional departments and geographical offices of the Ministry must be members, full or candidate (openly or secretly), of the Communist Party of China or the China Young Communist League. This requirement also obtains for all holding important diplomatic posts abroad. It is probably a prerequisite for the top positions in the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Institute for International Relations.

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ATTACHMENT 2

The following is a compilation of the most recent information available (to 15 August 1960) concerning the personnel of three important organizations engaged in the conduct of "people's diplomacy".

The following symbols are used in this compilation:

- # Also connected with Foreign Ministry or Staff Office for Foreign Affairs.
- \* Is also a regular or alternate member of CCP Central Committee.

COMMISSION FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES,  
STATE COUNCIL (CCRFC) (Established February 11, 1958)

Chairman	CHANG Hsi-jo
Vice Chairmen	CHANG Chih-hsiang CH'U T'u-nan CH'U Wu TING Hsi-lin TSOU Ta-p'eng LO Chün
Secretary General	CH'EN Chung-ching

Other members (as appointed September 16, 1959):

# *	CHANG Han-fu	HSIAO San	TS'UI I-tien
	CH'EN K'o-han	HSIEH Hsin-ho	TUNG Ch'un-ts'ai
	CHIANG Ssu-i	HSIN Kuan-chieh	WU Leng-hsi
	CHOU Erh-fu	JUNG Kao-t'ang	WU Wen-t'ao
	FENG Chi-p'ing	MEI I	WU Yün-fu
	HO Ch'eng-hsiang	PAO Erh-han	YANG Han-sheng
	HSIA Yen	TA P'u-sheng	YUAN Ch'ao-chün

CHINESE PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATION FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH  
FOREIGN COUNTRIES (ACRFC) (Established May 3, 1954)

Chairman	CH'U T'u-nan
Vice Chairmen	TING Hsi-lin YANG Han-sheng CHANG Chih-hsiang HSIA Yen
Secretary General	CHOU Erh-fu
Deputy Secretaries General	WU Hua-chih CHU Po-shen SUN P'ing-hua CHIN Tzu-ming LIN Lin

Other members, Standing Committee, Executive Council (as elected April 15, 1959, corrected to reflect additional members or removals reported since that date.

CHANG Chih-hsiang	HSIA Yen	MA Shao-po
CHANG Hsi-jo	HSIAO San	OU T'ang-liang (f)
CHANG Keng	HSIN Kuan-chieh	PAO Erh-han
CHAO Feng	HSU P'ing-yü	SA K'ung-liao
CHAO I-min	HU Yü-chih	SHAO Ch'üan-lin
CH'EN Chung-ching	HUA Chün-wu	SHU She-yü
CH'EN Han-sheng	JUNG Kao-t'ang	TA P'u-sheng
CH'EN P'ing	KAN Ling	TING Hsi-lin
CHI Ch'ao-ting	* LIAO Ch'eng-chih	TING Ying
CHOU Chien-jen	* LIU Ch'ang-sheng	TS'AI Ch'u-sheng
CHOU Erh-fu	LIU Hsi-yüan	TS'AO Meng-chün (f)
CHOU Shu-chia	* LIU Ko-p'ing	TSOU Ta-p'eng
CHU K'o-chen	* LIU Ning-i	WU Yao-tsung
CH'U T'u-nan	LO Chün	YANG Han-sheng
FAN Ch'ang-chiang		YANG Shou
HOU Te-pang		YAO Chen

Members, Executive Council: 237 members (elected April 15, 1959; names not announced in available sources). Branches of the ACRFC are found in major cities, such as Shanghai and Canton.

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CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (CPIFA)  
(Established December 15, 1949)

Honorary Chairman  
Chairman

# \* CHOU En-lai  
CHANG Hsi-jo

Vice Chairmen

# CH'IAO Kuan-hua  
CHOU Keng-sheng  
HU Yü'-chih  
CH'EN Han-sheng

Secretary General

WU Mao-sun

Deputy Secretaries General

HSIAO Hsiang  
# WANG Yin-p'u  
WU Hsiao-ta  
WANG Hsiao-yun  
TUAN Po-yü

Other members, Board of Directors (as elected July 19, 1955, with the deletion of members later denounced as rightists and the addition of new members identified since 1955).

Cha-k'o-lo-fu	HO Wei	LIU Tse-jung
CH'AI Tse-min	HO Ying	LIU Tsun-ch'i
CHANG Chiung-po	HSIA Yen	LO Chün
CHANG Ming-yang	HSIAO Chien-ying	LO P'ei-yüan
CHANG T'ieh-sheng	HSIAO Hua-ch'ing	MA Chung-ming
#CHANG Wen-chin	HSIEH Nan-kuang	MA Yü'-k'uei
CHANG Yao-hui	HSÜ Yung-ying	MEI Ju-ao
CHANG Yüeh	#HUANG Hua	PAO Erh-han
CHAO An-po	JAO Chang-feng	SHAO Li-tzu
CHAO Shou-i	#KUNG P'eng (f)	SUN Yao-hua
CH'EN Chia-k'ang	#KUNG Ta-fei	TU Kuo-hsiang
CHI Ch'ao-ting	LAI Ya-li	TU Tzu-ts'ai
#CHI P'eng-fei	LEI Jen-min	TUAN Po-yü
*CH'EN Chün-jui	LI Ch'i-jen	TUNG Yüeh-ch'ien
CHIN Chung-hua	LI Ch'u-li	WANG Jen-shu
CHOU Hsin-min	LI Ch'un-ch'ing	WANG Yün-sheng
CHOU Ta-fu	LI Kuang-t'ien	WENG Tu-chien
CHU Po-shen	#*LIAO Ch'eng-chih	WU Leng-hsi
FAN Hung	LING Ch'i	YA Sheng
FEI Ch'ing	LIU Chin-chung	YANG Sung-ch'ing
FENG Nai-chao	LIU Kuan-i	YÜ Chin-t'ang
HO Kung-kai	#*LIU Ning-i	#YÜ P'ei-wen
HO Ssu-ching	LIU Ssu-mo	

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## ATTACHMENT 3

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF CHINESE NAMED IN  
THIS STUDY AND/OR ON CHART

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